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PAKISTANI LINGUISTICS SERIES
VII

SHAHIDULLAH PRESENTATION VOLUME

edited by
ANWAR S. DILL



LINGUISTIC RESEARCH GROUP OF PAKISTAN
GPO Box 797, Lahore, West Pakistan
1966

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REMARKS ON SHINA LOANS IN BURUSHASKI

Hermann Berger

Burushaski is full of words borrowed from the Gilgit dialect of the neighbouring Shina, but only a part of them are found in Bailey's description of this language.¹ In his dictionary of Burushaski, Colonel D. L. R. Lorimer gives Shina correspondences of quite a number of Burushaski words not recurrent in Bailey's grammar. As long as no further field notes on Shina vocabulary are collected or published, Lorimer's work constitutes a valuable source of Shina lexicography. The present paper, in a restricted compass, aims to discuss several words alleged in Lorimer's dictionary or detected in my own notes.² As the occurrence of a Burushaski word in Shina does not stringently imply that it has been borrowed from Shina into Burushaski - there are also numerous instances the other way round - I have exclusively selected words for which a Sanskrit etymology could be traced. In a few cases where even Lorimer does not adduce a Shina correspondence, the Indo-Aryan origin can be inferred solely from etymology or from morphological peculiarities. Apart from recent Shina loans that are in nowise or only in a small degree phonetically changed, Burushaski has some older borrowings from Indo-Aryan, of which correspondences are missing in present-day Shina. Whether they have been transferred from a dialect different from Shina, or whether those words are no longer extant in later Shina or not yet recorded by chance, cannot be decided. A few examples of this type are communicated at the end of this paper, together with some other loans of interest belonging to none of the two types.

1. Burushaski kōor 'cave (in earth or rock cliff), shelter under overhanging cliff' < Shina kōar (L235 b)

< Sanskrit Koṭara 'the hollow of a tree; cave, cavity'. In Shina simple *ṭ* is lost between vowels cf. *gāi* 'earthen pot' < Skt. *Chaitkā*. Skt. *koṭara* is also preserved in Hindi *khodār*, Oriya *korāṇa* a.o., Turner IA 3496. Bur. *kóori* 'boot' Sh. *kōare* (L235 B) seems to be derived from the same word.

2. Bur. *rūu* (with low rising tone) 'healing of wound, joining of edges of cut' Sh. *rú waioki* 'to close, come together, of a wound' (L 304 b, *waioki* 'to come') < Skt. *roha* 'rising mounting; growth, increase', for the meaning cf. *ksataro-haga* 'healing or closing of a wound'. The low rising tone in Bur points to the loss of *h*, cf. my article WZKSOA V (1961), p. 54. It is certainly to be assumed in the Sh. word too, but as usual not marked by Lorimer.

3. Bur. *yom* 'match, pair, duplicate; proper for, fitting for' (L385b) < Sh. **yom*? Skt. *yugma* 'adj. even (as opp. to 'odd'); n. a pair, couple, brace; twins'. Lorimer gives no Sh. equivalent, but the derivation from an older **yomma* is evident, cf. Prakrit *jumma* < *yugma*. *y* is retained in Sh. and not changed into *j* as in the languages of the peninsula.

4. Bur. *-yog* 'toilet, titivating (includes washing and cleaning oneself and dressing up)' < Sh. *yuk thoiki* 'to swagger in new clothes etc.', Khovar *yug* 'korik id. (L392b)', < Skt. *yogya* 'useful, proper, fit for, etc.', or *yogya* 'preparation, exercise, practice'.

5. Bur. *jigá* 'long, for a long time' (Sh. *jigo* 'long', *jiga* 'for a long time' (L392 b) < **driggho*, by Dardic metathesis < Skt. *dīrgha* 'long'. Bur. *jék* 'extended, stretched out, prostrate, lying down' < Sh. *jék* (GB 169, L 217 b) is apparently related, but the details are not clear; Morgenstierne derives it from Skt. *drāghita* 'lengthened', but simple *-gh-* is not retained in Sh.

6. Bur. *kái* 'soup' < Sh. *kai* (L 230 b) < Skt. *kāñjika*, *-kā* 'sour gruel, water of boiled rice in a state of spontaneous fermentation', which itself is borrowed from Dravidian, cf.

Tam. *kañci*, Kanar. *gāñji* etc. 'rice-water, gruel', Burrow-Emeneau DED 927. For the treatment of *ñc* cf. *poi* '5' < *pañca*.

7. Bur. *kalamúto* 'base of external ear, flesh of ear' (L 227 a). Lorimer has no equivalent in Sh., but it may have been dissimilated from **kanamúto*, i.e. **kañéi muto*, 'thick of the ear', from *koñ*, gen. *koñéi* 'ear' (older **kañ*) and a word corresponding to Hindi *moṭa*, Panjabi *moṭā*, etc. 'fat, stout, thick'. Sh. **móto* or **muto* 'fat' is perhaps also preserved in Bur. *mōtis* 'very fat (said of small cattle)'; for the ending cf. *yaripis* 'poor fellow' from *yarip* 'poor' (< Urdu *yarīb*).

8. Bur. *bīm* 'fright, threat, intimidation' < Sh. **bīm* (not in L) < Skt. *bhīma* 'fearful, terrific'. From the same stem also Bur. *bik* 'afraid, alarmed; fear, fright'; with a secondary *k-* suffix.

9. Bur. *chur* 'knife' < **chur* (L 102 a wrongly *čur*) 'small knife' < Skt. *kṣura*.

10. Bur. *śūjo* 'pure, sacred, holy' < Sh. *śujo* (L 317 b) < Skt. *śujāta* 'well born, noble, fine, beautiful', cf. *śio* 'bad' in the Yas. dialect, formally < Skt. *ajāta* 'unborn', but with changed meaning contrary to *śūjo*. In the H2. dialect perhaps in *śajo* 'an exclamation of pain, groan' with exclamatory vowel lengthening.

11. Bur. *akás* 'misfortune, calamity', *sukás* 'good fortune, success' (not in L) < Sh. ? Another pair with the Sanskrit prefixes *su-* and *a-*. *-kás* can be phonetically derived from Skt. *karṣa* 'drawing, dragging, ploughing'; thus *sukás*, *akás* might be possibly terms of agriculture originally 'easy (or difficult) to plough'.

12. Bur. *abás* 'difficulty, trouble, hardship, calamity, misfortune; difficult etc.' < Sh. *abás* (L 7 b), Bur. *subás* 'what is easy, propitious, favourable' (L 317 a) < Skt. *vaśya* 'subdued, tamed, humbled; dutiful, docile, humble' + prefixes *a-* and *su-*.

13. Bur. acémo, fem. -i 'mischievous, dishonest person; rascal, villain, dangerous person' (L 8 b), from which acuméi < *acéméi, and Bur. sucémo 'honest, of good character' (L 317 b), < Skt. kṣema 'habitable, giving rest or ease or security; n.m. safety, tranquillity, rest, etc.' + prefixes a- and su-. sukṣema is attested in Skt., but only as a noun with the meaning 'great prosperity or comfort or peacefulness', whereas the Sh. word points to an adjective of the bahuvrīhi type. As kṣ results in ch in Sh., *suchémo would be expected. Perhaps Bur. acémo was influenced by acuméi, where the loss of aspiration was regular due to the shift of the accent, and ç in Sh. is a mishearing for ch (cf. Lorimer's çūr 'knife' for *chur, > Bur. chur in Nr. 9).

14. Bur. śāñ 'awake, aware, care, heed, attention' < Sh. śoñ, śuñ, śāñ (L 322 a, śoñ also GB) < Skt. śāñkā 'apprehension, care, fear, suspicion, doubt'. The form śāñ, of which Lorimer's śāñ seems to be but a mishearing for a strong palatalisation of ś, retains the original vowel; the o of GB remains unexplained, but it is found again in the derivative Bur. aśāñō (my own notes), aśūñō (L) 'by chance' < Sh. aśīñā, aśīñayo 'unexpectedly, accidentally' (with privative a-, L 31 b), where the same variation of vowel qualities is found.

15. Bur. pāyo 'wedge' < Sh. *pado < Skt. pataka 'a splitter, divider' from pātayat 'to split, cleave, tear etc.' Sg. *ḍ, which was omitted between vowels only in recent times, is represented by l in Yas. Bur., and preserved as l in Phalura, a close relative of Sh. spoken in Chitral, cf. Sh. khái 'shield' < *khetikā (Skt. khetaka), but Phal. Khet, f. id. and Yas. khil 'shield'; here Hz Bur has already borrowed the later form without ḍ (khil 'shield'). For Hz. pāyo, Yas. has pālo 'wedge'.

16. Bur. minā 'remains of kernels (after the oil has been extracted from them), oil-cake' > Sh. pino (L 266 a) < Skt. pināka 'oil-cake'. Initial stop in non-stressed syllables is voiced in Bur., cf. giñi 'line' < Skt. Kiñi 'ploughing'.

Bur. baḡá 'turban' < Sh. pasò < Skt. praśna id., etc. Interchange of m and b is very common in Bur.; it seems that originally m was only a variant of b before a nasal in the same word, cf. e.g. be 'what' against men 'who' for *be-n.

17. Bur. dúḡo man' 'to envy, bear ill-will to' (not in L) < Sh. *dúḡo < Skt. duḡa 'spoil, corrupted, bad, wicked, inimical, offensive, etc.'. Modern Sh. shows both retention and assimilation of ṣt, cf. miṣṭu 'good' < Skt. miṣṭa, but tútu 'full of stomach' < Skt. tuṣṭa. ṣt and st become sč and çç in Bur. cf. diççik 'brick' < Skt. iṣṭakā, d-asčal- besides d-asčal-, causative of d-čal-.

18. Bur. garōno 'bridegroom', garōni 'bride' < Sh. garōno, garōni (L 161 b and 162 a) < *gharaṇako, *gharaṇikā, cf. Pali gharaṇi 'housewife' from ghara 'house'. The intermediate stages were *garhaṇi and an analogical *garhaṇo with metathesis of h which can be inferred from the low rising tone in Bur. (cf. Nr. 2); the o of the second syllable is due to umlaut in the masculine form (*garhano > *garhono, cf. Nr. 25). From this derivation it becomes clear that Sh. gar 'marriage' (> Bur. gar id.) is MIA ghara 'house', Sh. gar thoiki (Bur. gar ét-) meaning 'to make a (new) house (hold)'.

19. Bur. jomanacó 'without warning, suddenly' < Sh. jomanucó (L 393 b) 'dangerous, risky' by reduplicative repetition of the first syllable as in other words (e.g. čhoračhór 'once upon a time' from čhor 'early') < *jomano < *drommanaso < Skt. daurmanasya 'dejectedness, melancholy, despair' from durmanas 'in bad or low spirits, sad'. There is some difference in meaning, but as manas in Skt. also means 'thought, imagination', a meaning 'out of thought, hardly to imagine' for durmanas and its vṛddhi form is quite presumable.

20. Bur. jáalo 'raft of inflated skin' < Sh. jālo (L 212 a) < Skt. jāla 'net, woven texture, web' from jāla 'net'. The specialized meaning shows that the Sg. word is independently derived from Skt. and not from Urdu jālā as Bur. jāal 'net' < Urdu jāl.

21. Bur. tan, táno, taneélo 'bastard, base-born' (L 344 a, 345 a) < Sh. ? < Skt. tanaya 'family, race, offspring, child' with pejorative meaning. Sh. origin is cogently advocated by the doublet taneélo which looks like a past participle from a verbal stem *tan- corresponding to Skt. tanoti 'to extend etc.', also 'to propagate'.

22. Bur. guśál- 'to go wrong, be spoilt, become ruined' < Sh. kuśúlo, kuśelo 'broken, damaged' (L 300 b), a past participle in -lo (cf. Nr. 21) from a Sh. verbal stem *kuś- < Skt. kusyate from kusnati 'to tear asunder, to pinch, to force or draw out, to extract'.

23. Bur. gunéeco 'understanding, intelligent, competent, reflective' < Sh. guneco, according to Lorimer (173 b) 'a regular agent form' of gunoiki 'to think' < Skt. gunayati 'to multiply', perhaps influenced in meaning by ganayati 'to count, number, reckon; consider, regard as etc.'. It is interesting not only because of its stem but also because of the ending -co, apparently from Skt. -tr or -trka of which no trace is found in GB's grammar.

24. Bur. Hz. paśóo, Nag. paśuu 'the man who sees in a dream when the female demons kill a man by slaughtering a goat' (not in L) from Sh. stem paś- 'see' < Skt. paśyati and a curious termination -óo, which is also found in Sh. paśoo 'turban' (GB p. 156, > Bur. baśá L 73 a) < *paśrôo (?) < Skt. praśna id., and in aśunôo from śan, see Nr. 14. From the verbal noun in -an (< Skt. -ana, cf. e.g. Sh. maran 'death' < Skt. marana) and the same ending -ôo also paśanôo (not in L), in Yas. Bur. 'row, uproar' (for the meaning cf. German colloquial špektakel show; row, uproar' < French spectacle).

25. Bur. mòon 'envy, jealousy' < Sh. ? < Skt. mana 'opinion, notion, conception, idea; purpose, wish, design; self-conceit, arrogance, pride; consideration, regard, respect, honour; a wounded sense of honour, anger or indignation excited by jealousy (especially in women), caprice, sulking'. Umlaut with subsequent loss of final

-o is regular in a-stems, cf. Sh. kon 'ear' < Skt. karno, don 'tooth' < *dondo < Skt. danto, etc.

26. Bur. níronaan 'rainbow' < Sh. narón (L 277 a). The Sh. word has been derived from Skt. indrathanus already by Turner IA 1577, but it has not been discovered as yet that also Bur. Nag. biòn 'rainbow' < Sh. biòn (L ib., GB 133) goes back to the same word. Its development was first: indrathanus > *indrahany > *nidrahany > *níoon, then in Hunza the j of *níoon underwent the regular change to i, whereas in the Nag. dialect there was a double dissimilation of the first n to m, later also to b. -an in níronaan is a common plural ending in Bur., but the length of the vowels of both -aan and ní- is not definite. a in Sh. narón seems to be but a phonetic variant of i.

Loanwords which have been borrowed from an older stage of Sh. or some other Indo-Aryan language.

27. Bur. baré 'lightening; intense cold' (L 70 b) < Skt. vajra 'thunderbolt; diamond'. The metathesis or r would be typical Dardic, but the word is not recorded in Sh., and it is difficult to say whether it would have undergone further phonetic changes in the modern stage, for other examples of the consonantal group -ir- are missing in this language.

28. Bur. thómal (L 355 a), Nag. thóman (not in L) 'smoke of burning juniper twigs inhaled by soothsayers' < old Sh. *dhuman, cf. modern Sh. dùmn 'smoke' and Skt. dhumana 'the obscuration (of a planet)', also dhumayana 'smoking, heat, fever'. Substitution of n by l in the Hz. dialect is due to dissimilation.

29. Bur. Hz. remízil 'stone-marten' (L 303 b), Nag. michír (not in L), Yas. ménzir 'a kind of fur animal (similar to a cat)' (not in L), from a NIA form derived from Prakrit mamjara, mamjara 'cat' < Skt. marjāra. Old Sh. ? Modern Sh. búđu 'cat' (Bur. buś) is a recent formation of an onomatopoeic type common to many languages, cf. English puś, pussy. The re- of the Hz. word is probably derived from Skt. rohita 'red';

reddish; a red or chestnut horse'. In remízil there has been also dissimilation of the second r (< *re-mízir), and also of the second nasal (< *re-minzir).

30. Bur. tişk 'dagger' < Skt. tīkṣṇa 'sharp, hot pungent, acid', with lexicographers also 'iron; any weapon'. If from Sh., which has to-day tīqu, 'sharp (knife, scissors, razor), bright, clever', it must have been borrowed at a very early time. šk for Skt. kṣ instead of the later Dardic development qh also in biškín- 'to beg' from Skt. bhikṣā, čhiškín- 'to complain, to bring an accusation against' < Skt. śikṣā, cf. G. Morgenstierne, NTS XIII (1942), p. 93.

Other loans of interest.

31. Bur. hórko 'plain, simple (of men), simpleton' (not in L) < Khovar horsk 'right, straight, true' < Iranian, cf. Yidgha urzu'yid, < Avest. arəzu, cf. Morgenstierne, Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages II, p. 192. It is interesting to find the same word as a loan nearly unchanged in Finno-Ugrian, cf. Finnish hurskas 'righteous, pious', > Lappish hurskes 'fastidious, honest', cf. Schlachter, MSS Beihett A, p. 45.

32. Bur. bismán ét- 'to circumcise' < Sh. bismūn (L 83 a), bismōn (GB) 'circumcision', perhaps < Urdu bismillāh 'in the name of God', cf. Bur. bismillā ét- 'to say 'bismillāh' (preparatory to doing something)' and Yas. Bur. besmél ét- 'to slaughter'.

33. Bur. buyāt 'representation, petition', Sh. buyāt 'en-treaty, petition, request' (L 90 b, GB). If < Pers. firyād, faryād 'an exclamation, cry for help or redress; complaint' (cf. firyād 'a complainant, plaintiff'), it must have been borrowed from Bur. into Sh., because the voicing of stops in non-stressed initial syllables is typical for Bur. (cf. Nr. 16) and not found in Sh.

NOTES

1. Grammar of the Shina (Šinā) Language; consisting of a full grammar, with texts and vocabulary of the main or Gilgit dialect and briefer grammars (with vocabularies and texts) of the Kohistani, Guresi and Drasi dialects, by T. Grahame Bailey, London, 1924.

2. Lt. Col. D. L. R. Lorimer, The Burushaski Language, Vol. III: Vocabularies and Index, Oslo, 1938.

3. Cf. my two reports Anthropos Vol. 55 (1960) pp. 657-664, and Bulletin of the International Committee on Urgent Anthropological and Ethnological Research, No. 5, 1962, pp. 42-44. As Lorimer's transcription of Bur. words is inaccurate and unreliable, I shall use my own phonemic writing. (Above double vowels signifies the low rising tone, as in mōn 'jealousy', not noticed by L, ē is Lorimer's ts); the transcriptions of Shina words of both Bailey and Lorimer have been considerably simplified, because they contain many distinctions which are purely phonetic; vowel length is only marked if it is found in Bailey's grammar, for L is extremely unreliable on this point. (` marks the low rising tone).

Abbreviations:

- Bur. = Burushaski (Hunza dialect, if not specified otherwise)
 GB = T. Grahame Bailey's Shina Grammar, see N. 1.
 HZ. = the Hunza dialect of Burushaski.
 L = Lorimer's Dictionary of Bur., see N. 2.
 MIA = Middle Indo-Aryan.
 Nag. = the Nagari dialect of Burushaski.
 Sh. = Shina.
 Skt. = Sanskrit.
 Turner IA = R. L. Turner, A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages.

Turner Nep. = A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language.

Yas. = the Yasin dialect of Burushaski, also called Werchikwar.

4. Notes on Phalūṛa, an unknown Dardic Language of Chitral, Oslo, 1941 s.v. dhrēg (p. 34).

NOTES ON KAFIR PHONOLOGY

Eric P. Hamp

1. The consonants of Waigali: the chart of Waigali consonant phonemes, as given by G. Morgenstierne, NTS 17. 159, may be rearranged slightly as follows as a point of departure:

p	t	f	c	ç	č	k
b	d	ɖ		j	g	
m	n	ɳ			ŋ	
		s	ʃ	š		
		z	ʒ			
		r	ɾ	ř		
			w	y		

To these should be added l. The non-vocalic consonants (i. e. all except w, y) can probably be accommodated with the following distinctive features: voice (tense), continuant, obstruent, labial (flat), velar (grave), affricated (sharp), retroflected (mellow).

Without being able to take into account the complete range of syntactic rules and of morpheme structure rules for the lexical entries, the following matrix of features and later rules gives an initial attempt at a minimally redundant expression of the consonantism of Waigali.

[+ comp.] [[- comp.] in env. [- diff. + flat]

5. $\phi \rightarrow [-grave]$

6. [+grave] → [-grave] in env.

-diff.	+diff.
-flat	

7. [-diff.] $\rightarrow$ [+diff.] in env.

8. $\left[\begin{array}{cc} - \text{cons.} & + \text{nas.} \\ & - \text{grave} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{cc} - \text{cons.} & \\ & + \text{nas.} \end{array} \right] \text{ in env. } _____\#$

Alternatively, instead of rule (1) as above, we may insert a different rule between (4) and (5) to account for [ai au] > [e o].

$$(4 \text{ bis}) \quad [+ \text{comp.} + \text{diff.}] \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \text{diff.} \\ - \text{comp.} \end{bmatrix}$$

If we adopt this seemingly simpler and aesthetically more pleasing formulation, we must further restrict the context of (4) to prevent it from yielding [- comp.], i.e. [o], in position before [u]. In any case, these two alternatives make different claims regarding the history of the set of vowels affected, and I know of no way at the moment of testing the factuality of either. The above set of rules is meant rather to be suggestive of avenues toward a solution which may be

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III. Waigali $\tilde{a}i$ 'fire': the forms attested (NTS 17. 226) are Kegal $\tilde{a}i$, Zönchigal and Waigal village $\tilde{a}i$, Pashto Tolana MS dictionary $\tilde{a}i$, Gambiri $\tilde{a}i$. Morgenshterne says (loc. cit.) "poss. $\tilde{a}i$, etc. with a special phonetical development from agni." Yet NTS 17. 165 he remarks "The derivation of $\tilde{a}i$, $\tilde{a}i$ fire < agni is improbable." However, the general shape of the word, coupled with the alternation of nasalized vowel with Gambiri η (and Ashkuw 'aga), still makes connexion with agni-attractive, especially since another explanation would still face the problem of unifying these nasal reflexes.

First, whatever the exact background of the *i* (-*ĩka?), we must satisfy ourselves on the nasalisation of the vowel. A good parallel is found in Kati cu, Ashkun *ga-sā* < *čáka-(:Skt śaka-aḥ) etc. The form with *ā* shows palatalization from an old following *i* (op. cit. § 28). Nasalisation with -ĩ- (and -ĩ-) seems to be a normal reflex for earlier -n- in Zöncchi-gāl and Waigal village. Thus we reach one pre-form in *ān-ĩ, alongside this we have another pre-form *aḡ-. Comparable to the first is Kegal n'ānuḡ 'small boy' < nagnānga; see NTS 17. 281. We must assume here a development *aḡn-> *-ān-, giving the modern timbre [a], and not [o] from old short *a.

The word for 'naked, destitute' represented by Kegal nĩng, Zönchigal nĩb-šĩo, nĩgĩi, Pasho Tolana MS dictionary nĩng-ti is difficult to analyze. Morgenstierne simply notes (NTS 17, 283) 'prob. nag-<nagna- (but of. nānũ)'. His remark must refer to Lumsden's *nagusta*, which is somewhat uncertain of interpretation along with the other forms. Nevertheless, nĩ- beside nĩg- do suggest nVg-, with an uncertainty left in the vowel. At any rate, it does not look as if we have here a trace of -ŋ-; this may easily be a different derivative of *nag-, considering the rich IE family it belonged to.

Thus we are faced with two developments for agn: pre-Waigali *ān- and *aŋ-. The first could easily be envisaged, by the stages alluded to above, as the normal pre-vocalic outcome. If we could suppose a treatment of agni- in some instances like that of avi-, we may pose an alternate stem shape *agnYV-. In this event the *ny would ultimately vanish as other post-consonantal yods did; note that we find no direct distinctive reflex of ñ.

To unify these two developments we need now only assume the early change, by assimilation, of g > ŋ before n, just as happened in Latin. Thus we have *agni- > *aŋni- > *ān-, but *agnYV- > *aŋnYV- > *aŋYV-. To which of these developments we are to credit the source of the palatalisation seen in ā, and whether this is to be connected directly with the Kegal -i, I cannot say.

IV. Waigali prōš(t) 'sleep', prūšt 'bed': these two words are very puzzling: on the one hand they are difficult in detail to reconcile. On the other hand, they seem too much alike in form and meaning to be unrelated; yet just this semantic connexion may have attracted two fortuitously similar items of different formal origin. If the avenues to a solution which I here propose are correct, the two may have at bottom the same etymological base. But this, it turns out, would be irrelevant to their functional make-up and derivational structure.

Waigali prūšt, Ashkun prūst 'bed' cannot be related to proŋtha (v. NTS 17.290) not so much because we have -št (though, to be sure, if we imagined this to be a loan, which I consider most improbable, we might expect -št), and a remarkable feature of Kafir is that it fails to show retroflexion after *u (v. NTS 17.165 §23). Rather these cannot be related directly since Waigali ū points to *u, not *ō, and the nasalisation must be accounted for. Also, prōšt cannot be *pras(u)tti- < praupiti- since, as Morgenstierne remarks, we should expect -st in secondary clusters by syncope. Thus both of these words present *-st-, and lead us to consider derivatives of the root *st(h)ā-.

In this connexion we are led to take note also of Waigali ošt-, ušt-, Ashkun ōst- 'rise' (Ashkun ōstā- 'raise' is an obvious derivative of the latter), which according to NTS 2.242 go back to *usthā- < *ut-sthā-; but what of the nasal? We also note ut- 'rise': utā- 'place' (in similar relation), the latter to uthāpaya-. This gives us a start, but we need more detail.

Waigali ō 'up' is presumably *upa; ū 'down' is *ava. The variant ušt- can be explained from *usthā-, though we must assume the vowel u- developed pretonically in the verbal paradigm; but ošt- can in no way be justified strictly under this reconstruction. The following assumptions then seem in order:

ut- < *utt(h)ā-

ušt- < *u(t)st(h)ā-

ošt- < *upast(h)ā-

We assume then that the nasalisation in Ashkun ōst- is by contamination from 'bed' (which admittedly fails to show it in our Ashkun record, an odd and inconvenient fact that could stand clarifying or verification).

Then we may hazard the suggestion

prōšt < *prā-ū-st- < *pra-avast(h)ā- *'repose'

prūšt < *prānust- *'structure' (*pra-anust(h)-?)

For the phonology of the nasal in the last, cf. kēšt/kyōšt.

V. The Kafir words for 'tongue': it is possible to unify these words more than they have been. The relevant forms are: Ashkun žū, Waigali jip, kati dīc, Prasun wujuk. Morgenstierne has already (NTS 13.230) explained Kati dīc as devoiced in the final from *dij < *jijwā, with loss of the final in normal fashion and dissimilation of *j-j to *d-j; a similar dissimilation occurs in dōšt 'hand' < *jasta-. We

may adduce another such, though this time from *j̥, in Waigali *dešto*, *dušto* 'elder': Skt. *jyeṣṭha*-. This phenomenon has the appearance of a certain regularity. Perhaps we may say that when [-contin.] is present [+sharp] may occur only once in such sequences. Morgenstierne has also explained Prasuṇ *wurjuk*, LSI *luzuk(h)* as coming from **dijuk* < **jiū-kā*. Thus we would have both **jiū*- and **jiuā* represented; or in IE terms *-*ghuA* (Avesta *hižū*-, Slavic *języ-k*-, OPrussian *insu-wis*) and *-*ghueA* (Skt. *jihvā*, Avesta *hižvā*, Ossetic *æwzag*= Sogdian 'zḡ'k, Latin *lingua*, Tocharian B *kantwo*). I discuss elsewhere the full range of the IE words for 'tongue'.

Ashkun *žū* may be traced to **ziw* (Morgenstierne, NTS 2.288), and this in turn to **ziw*, with regular change of **z* > *ž* before *i*. It is now possible to relate this Ashkun form directly to Waigali *jip*. In general, palatal groove spirancy becomes apical in Ashkun (NTS 2.194-5); we may say that in the presence of [+sharp] in Ashkun *[+grave] becomes [-grave]. Also, in Ashkun affricates tend to become sibilants; i.e. in the presence of [+sharp] we find *[+contin.] becomes [+contin.]. These phenomena are illustrated most clearly by Waigali, Kati *jit* 'body' (related to Waigali *jēt(a)* 'alive', Zöschigal *jōr* 'well, in health': Skt. *jīva*-, etc.): Ashkun *jit-zit*; and Kati *jāl'ai* Prasuṇ (LSI *zhelai*: Skt. *hilla*-; NTS 2.287): Ashkun *zai'ai*. Thus, the initials in Ashkun **ziw* and Waigali *jip* are an exact match.

We are reminded now of Ashkun *zū* = Waigali *jū* 'daughter'. These have been traced, along with Prasuṇ *lūšt-uk*, by Morgenstierne (NTS 13.233) to **dujitiā*. It is noteworthy here that, as often NTS 17.159 § 9), Waigali and Ashkun with **jū* agree against Prasuṇ (just cited) and Kati *juk*; we find the same to be true of 'tongue'. Perhaps we may improve the account of **jū* 'daughter' by supposing that an original **dujitiā* developed by metathesis to **di jūtā*. I am not sufficiently informed on the Prasuṇ background to be sure of the origin of what is written *ū*; but if, as seems likely, this is a rounded **i* (rounded by the syncopated **u* or by the *u* that now appears in the suffix ?), we may reconstruct a pre-form **di(j)(u)ituk*. If that is correct, then the proto-Kafir sequence would be

**i* - *u*, and we might even suppose the metathesis to be on the time-level of **dhuj(h)itiā(r)* > **dhij(h)utā(r)*-. At any rate, it will be recalled that intervocalic affricates do not drop in Kafir (NTS 17.163 § 18); but we suppose a subsequent syncope of the first syllable for Waigali - Ashkun. Thus we arrive at **d(i)jū* > **jū*.

We turn back now to Ashkun **ziw* = Waigali *jip*. Starting from **jiuā* > **djiuā*, we find a sequence strikingly like that of **di(j)utā*. It is necessary only to suppose for the initial that **d(i)j*- gave **j*- [+grave] just as **d(i)j*- did. We assume that this happened at a time when (or in dialects where), in the presence of [-grave], a segment which was [-tense] was also [+continuant]; i.e. by then only [z], and not [j], existed, and hence the resultant affricate was automatically allotted to **j*. This gives us a complete explanation of the initial from **ji(j)-* via **dij*- to Ashkun **z*- > *ž*- and Waigali *j*-. What of the final?

In order to explain the final two features must be solved, and solved simultaneously. First, we ask how the vowel *i* was developed which enabled the word to be treated as a disyllable, and hence to drop the first (original) *i* by syncope as we have supposed above. Second, we may wonder about the puzzling final -*p* in Waigali. Original stops lost their obstruence medially when preceded by [-cons.] and followed [-cons.] or [-obstr.]; I deal with this extensively elsewhere. Thus an original intervocalic labial leaves behind Waigali *w*. On the other hand, original **w* following a consonant seems to be of complex development. In *čatā* '4' **čatwār*- it seems to have vanished, while protecting **t* from loss; Kati *gūč* Waigali *cōr* 'mother-in-law' (**c(w)acrū*-) and Waigali *sōs* Ashkun Kati *sus* (**s(w)asā*) show a similar development. On the other hand, Waigali *bās* '12' (but Kati *dīc* perhaps influenced by *dū* '2'), Ashkun *bē* 'out', *bāk'ā* 'door' point to a different treatment in the case of the voiced **dw*. (I assume the reflex *šp* < **sw*, NTS 17.165 § 23, to represent borrowing). It seems that voiceless obstruent clusters behaved differently from the voiced in this respect. In particular, it would appear that the voiceless-tense release absorbed the **w*, while

the [+flat] feature in voiced surroundings asserted itself.

Moreover, after *j we find an anaptyctic vowel developed before *r in Ashkun žir'ik 'shame', Kati žife- 'be ashamed'; Skt. hrī-.

I assume, then, that *diwā was pronounced something like *[didzβā]. This later gave, parallel to *jri-, *[didzβā] (i. e. *dijibā?). With syncope and loss of final syllabic, we arrive at *(i)jiβ > *jiβ. This last in turn gave Ashkun *ziw, and Waigali *jib. With normal devoicing of finals, we arrive at Waigali jip.

THE ORIGIN OF THE PAST TENSE OF THE PASHTO VERB

Herbert Penzl

1. Internal Reconstruction

When Pashto is compared to other Iranian languages like Modern Persian, Kurdish, Balochi, it becomes clear that it has preserved in its phonology as well as in its morphology many features that the other languages have lost. A comparison with related modern languages and with their attested earlier stages as the Middle Iranian languages or Old Persian and Avestan makes it possible to reconstruct the prehistory of Pashto sounds and forms. Unfortunately, even the earliest extant Pashto texts do not give us an earlier stage of Pashto, e. g. a 'Middle Pashto'. As in the case of many other literary languages of this world, we have only texts of the modern stage; thus we have to apply the techniques of comparative linguistics to reconstruct sounds and forms that preceded those of the modern era. This reconstruction can proceed with the help of the forms from other Iranian or Indo-Iranian languages but also internally from the main dialects of Pashto itself. We shall attempt here to reconstruct the origin of the past tense of the Pashto verb, first by using morphological internal evidence, then by using comparative data (II below), and finally the evidence derived from the syntax of the modern transitive verb (III below).

The Pashto verb indicates person and number by its inflectional endings, e. g. in the forms of *tašm* '(I) tie' and *yem* '(I) am':

Present Tense	Imperfective Past Tense	Present Tense
1st sg. <u>tafām</u> '(I) tie'	<u>tafālem</u> '(I) was being tied by..'	<u>yam</u> '(I) am'
2nd sg. <u>tafē</u> '(you) tie'	<u>tafāle</u> '(you) were being tied by..'	<u>yē</u> '(you) are'
3rd sg. <u>tafī</u> '(he) ties'	<u>tafā</u> '(he) was being tied by..'	<u>day</u> '(he) is'
1st pl. <u>tafū</u> '(we) tie'	<u>tafālu</u> '(she) was being tied by..'	<u>da</u> '(she) is'
2nd pl. <u>tafāy</u> '(you) tie'	<u>tafālu</u> '(we) were being tied by..'	<u>yu</u> '(we) are'
	<u>tafālay</u> '(you) were being tied by..'	<u>yay</u> '(you) are'
	Kandahar <u>tafālast</u> '(you) were being tied by..'	<u>yāst</u> (Kand.) '(you) are'
3rd pl. <u>tafī</u> '(they) tie'	<u>tafāl</u> '(they, masc.) were being tied by..'	<u>di</u> '(they) are'
	<u>tafāle</u> '(they, fem.) were being tied by..'	

We notice that the category gender is expressed by the two different forms day, da 'is' which are generally used in written Pashto. In some dialects, to be sure, da is also used for the masculine. Masculine and feminine are differentiated in the 3rd person singular and plural of the Pashto past tense as above in the quoted imperfective forms tāfā '(He) was being tied by..', fem. tafāla, etc. The same distinction is found in the past tense of intransitive verbs, e. g. rasēžam '(I) arrive, reach', rasēdā '(he) was arriving', rasēdāla '(she) was arriving'. There is, incidentally, considerable dialectal variation in the 3rd person singular masculine form of the past: rasēdā contrasts with rasēdō (rasēdālo), the most common Peshawar form; rasēdāy of Kandahar; and rasēd, the compromise often found in writing.

The consistent distinction between masculine and feminine gender is a striking feature of nouns, adjectives, pronouns in Pashto. The grammatical gender is, beside case

and number, typical of all these 'nominal' word classes in the Indo-European languages. The various nominal forms linked to the verb show gender, e. g., the perfect participle tafālay (masc.), tafāle (feminine) '(having been) tied', rasēdālay (masc.), rasēdāle (having) arrived; the verbal nouns, traditionally called 'infinitives' (masdar): tafāl '(the) tying, to tie', rasēdāl '(the) arriving, to arrive' are constructed as masculine plural forms. The occurrence of gender distinctions in the 3rd persons of the past tense definitely suggests a nominal origin for these forms as well as for day, da. The internal evidence of the modern structure of Pashto indicates this earlier stage.

We find as part of the passive phrase, particularly in the dialect of Kandahar, a participial form tafāl (masc. sing.), tafāla (fem.) 'tied', e. g., tafāl kēžam '(I) am (being) tied'. Other dialects use the perfect participles tafālay, tafāle in this construction. This masculine participle form tafāl must not be confused with the homonymous plural noun-form tafāl '(the) tying'. Essentially, the form tafāla in the passive phrase and as the 3rd person fem. sing. of the imperfective past tense must be considered identical. If we now identify the 3rd person past tense forms not only historically but even synchronically as participle forms, we must see in the 1st and 2nd person forms combinations of the participle stem and the 1st and 2nd person endings of the present tense (e. g., tafāl- and -am). From this morphemic analysis we can reconstruct the origin as a fusion of the participial stem (taf- and the participial suffix -āl) with the verbal forms yam '(I) am', yē, yu, yay, yāst, thus assume a change from tafāl yam to tafālem. In the Kandahar dialect the use of the suffix -āst (instead of -ay) in tafālast, rasēdālast, compared to tafāy, rasēžay in the present tense, confirms this reconstruction, since the use of -āst is restricted in Kandahar to verbs with y in the stem: e. g. in yāst, wāyāst '(you) speak', žōyāst '(you) chew' (2nd pl.), etc. The Kandahar form tafālast, therefore, points to the presence of an original yāst in the past tense.

II. Comparative Reconstruction

The evidence from other Iranian languages corroborates the internal reconstruction of the participial origin of the past tense of the Pashto verb. In the past tense of Modern Persian, e. g., we find in the 3rd person sing. a similar form without an ending: kard 'did', raft 'went', etc.; both diachronic and synchronic evidence can similarly establish the origin of the Persian past tense from a participle construction.

The comparative method can explain the meaning of the Pashto suffix -(ə)l which appears in most of the past tense forms. l in Pashto never corresponds to Indo-European l, which is reflected by r in Pashto. We observe, however, that l corresponds to Indo-European dentals initially before and medially between vowels. We find, e. g., Pashto las 'ten', Sanskrit daśa, Avestan daśa, Greek déka, Latin decem; Pashto lur 'daughter', Sanskrit dubhítā; Pashto sal '100', Avest. satəm, Lat. centum; Pashto plār 'father', Sanskrit, Avest. pitár, Greek patér, Lat. pater. Initially before w or r the Indo-European dental is preserved in Pashto: dwa 'two', Sanskrit dvā, Avest. dva, Lat. duo; Pashto dré 'three', Sanskrit tráyas, Lat. trés. The Pashto words tré 'paternal uncle', trór 'aunt' are cognates of plār, although their forms show no similarity now; tré corresponds to Sanskrit pitrwya, Avestan tuiryā, Lat. patruus. The change from dentals to l is not infrequent in Indic dialects but rare in Iranian; it is only found in some Pamir dialects, e. g. in Yidgha. In 'Middle Pashto' original d and t must at least already have developed into a voiced alveolar or prepalatal spirant.

This proven correspondence of Pashto l and Indo-European t (or d) makes it possible to compare the l in verbal endings to Indo-European verbal-adjective (participle) formations in -to, which are reflected, e. g., in Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin forms: e. g., Sanskrit datta - 'given', Greek dotós, Latin datus. The identity of the Pashto suffix

Past Tense of the Pashto Verb

l with the t-suffix of the Indo-European verbal adjective and its occurrence in the Pashto past tense was described by Professor W. Geiger in 1894. He noted also that the verbal noun in -əl, as tafəl '(the) tying', rasədəl '(the) arriving' was historically nothing but the plural of the verbal adjective (past participle).¹ It has kept its noun inflection in Modern Pashto, and as other plurals forms an oblique case by adding the morpheme -ō. There is, of course, no synchronic or historical justification for the traditional description of the Pashto verbal nouns as the base from which all verbal forms are to be derived.

III. The Agential Construction

Not only morphological (see I above), but striking syntactical evidence points internally to the origin of the Pashto past tense from a combination of a participle and forms of the verb 'to be'. The syntax of the past tense of the Pashto transitive verb differs considerably from that of the intransitive verb. We find sařý rasəd 'The man was about to arrive', zə rasədšam 'I was about to arrive' but sařý yē tārś 'The man was being tied by him (her? them?)', zə yē tafšəm 'I was being tied by him'. The subject sařý is the actor in sentences with the intransitive verb rasədšl but the goal of action with the past of the transitive verb tafšl. The pronominal particle yē stands for the actor (agent) who must be invariably indicated in such sentences. The past tense of the Pashto passive phrase sařý tafšl kēdś 'The man was being tied' differs, on the other hand, from this construction, since the agent (actor) is normally not indicated. The Indo-European verbal adjective (participle) of transitive verbs has regularly a 'passive' meaning. In Modern English the transitive past participle compared to intransitive past participles shows this distinction if the forms occur by themselves or in nominal phrases: e. g., well-handled '(that) which has been handled a lot' but well-travelled 'who has travelled a lot'. The Pashto past tense of the transitive verb reflects by its modern meaning and syntax the original derivation from a participial form with passive meaning.

Comparative evidence reveals that other modern Iranian languages where the past tense originated the same way show the same passive meaning of the transitive past tense. According to Professor G. Morgenstierne this is true for Persian and Kurdish dialects,Ormuri, Parachi, Munji, Wakhi, and partly for Balochi. He added that the situation in Pashto was very lucid.²

In Pashto sentences like sařý yē tāřs and zō yē tařlam there is agreement between the goals of action and the verbs in number (singular), gender, where feasible (sařý masculine), and person (sařý 3rd, zō 1st pers.). The case of the goal of action is the direct case or nominative. yē is a noninflecting particle. But if the actor (agent) were a noun, it would have to be in the oblique case: e. g. sař (oblique case of sařý) zō tařlam 'I was being tied by the man'. It is a general feature of the Indo-European sentence that the subject, whether it is semantically a 'goal of action' or the 'actor', is in the nominative case and is the one part that agrees in person, usually in number, and, if any nominal element is present beside the finite verb, even in gender with the predicate. This is a very good typological reason why the analysis of Pashto sentences containing past tenses of transitive verbs should consider the general rules of Indo-European sentence structure and agreement. We can, if we wish, translate sařý yē tāřs and zō yē tařlam by 'He was tying the man' and 'He was tying me' but the rather vague pronominal particle yē, which can refer to any third person ('he, she, they'), cannot even be called the 'logical' subject and the nuclear forms in the nominative sařý and zō cannot be called 'object'. The existence of certain impersonal constructions in Pashto where the grammatical subject is only marked as 3rd person plural (e. g. mā wāwayal 'I said (By me was said)') should not mislead us here. There are actor-subjects and goal of action-subjects in Indo-European sentences and the use of the nominative case (sařý and zō above) and close agreement with the predicate and its finite verb reveal them as such. An oblique case can never be the case of the grammatical subject of a sentence in an Indo-European language.

The passive construction of the transitive past tense is certainly the most difficult syntactical feature of Pashto for learners of the language. Authors of grammars and textbooks of Pashto have often not made their readers' task easier by the description they provide. But D. L. R. Lorimer, *Syntax of Colloquial Pashtu* (Oxford 1915), § 153 states: 'In the Past Tenses, therefore, the choice lies not between an Active and Passive, but between an Agental Passive and a non-Agental Passive construction.'³ It is no coincidence that a scholar who first clearly understood the historical origin of the Pashto past tense and who was even able to equate Pashto l and Sanskrit l was also one who clearly described the passive meaning of the transitive past tense. It was Ernest Trumpp, whose *Grammar of the Pashto or Language of the Afghāns* appeared in London in 1873, and who, as he states in the Preface, 'frequently inquired from learned men in Peshawar and Lahore.'

The origin of the Pashto past tense from the fusion of a participle and the verbal forms of yam ('I) am' is clearly shown by the morphology itself, by the presence of the nominal category gender in the 3rd person, and by the anomalous passive meaning and construction of the transitive form. This internal reconstruction based on the modern forms of the Pashto dialects themselves is confirmed by the comparative reconstruction as based on parallel formations in the other Iranian languages, and on the proven correspondences between Pashto -al and the Indo-European verbal adjective-suffix ending in -to.

NOTES

1. 'Das afghānische Präteritum', Indogermanische Forschungen, vol. 3 (1894), pp. 111 ff; also Etymologie und Lautlehre des Afghānischen (Munich 1893); 'Über den afghānischen Infinitiv', Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung, vol. 33 (1895), pp. 474-77
2. Handbuch der Orientalistik, Vierter Band: Iranistik (1958), p. 166.
3. See Herbert Penzl, 'Afghan Descriptions of the Afghan (Pashto) Verb,' Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 71 (1951), p. 100, footnote 15; also A Grammar of Pashto (1955), §§83, 100.2a, 103.3a.; A Reader of Pashto (University of Michigan Press, 1965), p. 13 f.

PROBLEMS OF LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL INTEGRATION IN PAKISTAN: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE AND PRESENT SITUATION

Abu Laïs Siddiqi

I. Historical Perspective. The Indo-Pakistan subcontinent has always been a field of linguistic and cultural diversities. The pre-Aryan period or the so called Indus Vally Civilization is still partially in the dark, awaiting further excavations and discoveries and particularly the deciphering of the Indus Vally Script and we cannot discuss with certainty the linguistic and cultural diversities of that period with our present sources. The pattern, however, becomes more vivid and clear with the advent of the Aryans. The Aryans entered the subcontinent in waves of migration pressing forward the original sons of the soil farther and farther, until driving them out towards the South, beyond the Vindhyaçal range or into inaccessible mountain and forest hide-outs, where we can still find traces of their culture and linguistic heritage although deeply influenced by the dominating Aryan culture.

The Brahavi language in Baluchistan and the entire families of non-Aryan languages of South India - Tamil, Telegu, Kanarese, and Malayalam have survived as a challenge to the Aryan onslaught. Even almost four thousand years of contact and contamination have failed to integrate fully the non-Aryan racial, cultural, and linguistic units into one unified blend. The situation on the one hand reflects determination of the non-Aryans to survive and preserve their cultural heritage, while on the other hand it betrays the determined efforts of the Aryans to segregate the non-Aryans by labeling them as shudras, untouchables and profane. The caste